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ABSTRACT

A study was undertaken to analyze the New Careerist's perception of his involvement in his own community and his proximity to the role of the professional in his agency, among a group of 185 previously low-income persons in the Minneapolis New Careers program. The author relates the New Careerist's position to the concept of the 'marginal man,' who is now moved to the fringe of his own poverty group by having found gainful and secure employment. She raises the question of whether the program has not weakened the New Careerists' relationships with their own neighborhoods, perhaps by removing them from their neighborhoods for a good part of the day. Despite this marginality of the New Careerist's role, responses to a brief questionnaire indicated that participants' community orientation was stronger than their professional orientation. In contrast, dropouts from the program exhibited several characteristics of professionalism to a greater extent from the outset than did those who stayed in. (MF)

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CONTAMINATION OF NEW CAREERISTS BY PROFESSIONALIZATION: FACT OR FANCY?

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By

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June, 1969

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IMPORTANT

NOTE TO THE READER

The first chapter of this report is a summary of the empirical findings and interpretations from two studies, both of which deal basically with the problem of the "bridging" function. It includes recommendations about how the program might be adjusted to fulfill its guidelines to the optimum.

The second chapter is a broad, non-technical discussion of the functions New Careerists were intended to fulfill in the community, and of the factors that might prevent them from doing this.

Beginning with the third chapter, the findings of the second of these two related studies are presented in detail. Also included is a discussion of how the study was designed and carried out.

Readers should be aware that in these last chapters a table summarizes the findings for each variable. Explanatory text precedes and follows each table for readers who are interested in all the details of the findings. Major points of the study are underlined in the body of the report.

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CONTAMINATION OF NEW CAREERISTS BY PROFESSIONALIZATION: FACT OR FANCY?[1,2]

CHAPTER I

RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUMMARY

Introduction

This chapter, and the general discussion in Chapter II, pertain to two separate studies which deal with essentially the same problem. One is a master's thesis, "The Professionalization of New Careerists,"[3] which deals with the ways in which New Careerists take on professional values. The second is the study presented in Chapters II - VI of the present report.

The data for the present study were collected from the original New Careers Research questionnaire. As these data were analyzed, several theoretical difficulties became evident and a new set of questions were written to gain a deeper insight. The analysis of this set of new data led to the master's thesis already mentioned.

In very definite ways, then, these two studies are related to each other. First, they deal with the same essential questions--whether New Careerists are functioning as effective bridge personnel, or whether

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[1]This research and report were funded under U.S. Department of Labor contract #41-8-003-25.

[2]This report may not be published either in whole or in part without prior written permission from the New Careers Research.

[3]Margaret A. Thompson, The Professionalization of New Careerists, Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Minnesota, July, 1969.

they are becoming "contaminated" by their extensive contact with professionals. Second, the present study, in its generality of scope, actually spawned the second, more specific study. Despite these similarities, each study had information not dealt with in the other. These findings will be presented in this chapter.

Role Orientation and the Bridge Function

The concept of role orientation was used in the present study to mean an aide's general approach to his relationships with other people with whom he was in contact. The one pole of this variable was labelled "community orientation." This referred to: 1) a general feeling of oneness with people in the poverty neighborhoods; 2) a rejection of the professional as one who can provide solutions to the problems of low-income people; and 3) a feeling that poor people are the only ones who really know about poverty.

The other pole was labelled "professional orientation." A person with a professional orientation might be expected to consider himself different from (and probably better than) his peers in the low-income community, and he would respect the professional's training and knowledge as avenues to social amerlioration. But few aides lie at either extreme on this continuum--most are distributed at various points between the two extremes. These two categories are only "ideal types," not discernable realities.

Over a fifteen month period beginning at the outset of the program, the basic trend has been toward increasing community orientation, although some subgroups have deviated from this pattern. Especially notable among these deviations are the two questionnaire items that attempt to

get the New Careerist to set himself off from the community mentally and then to examine his relationship to the low-income neighborhood. The more community-oriented responses tend to come on those items that relate to the aide's relationship. What this may indicate is that while the aides are not becoming "contaminated" or losing their ability to perform the bridge function over time, because of the demands of the program they may be losing contact with their own neighborhoods. This in itself, though, is a threat to the "bridging function," since weakening at either end of the so-called "bridge" may cause the New Careerist to lose his ability to function as a unique link between professionals and the poverty community.

It can be suggested as a remedy to this situation, or at least a step in the right direction, that aides be allowed to work in the communities in which they live and really have the "savvy" Pearl and Riessman[4] discuss, rather than having to choose between their own community, to which they are well-oriented and in which they are comfortable, and another community in which they are hardly less strangers than the professionals. It should be realized that in the concept of the "bridge function" there is the implicit idea that the aide is (or should be) tied in to his neighborhood and community by strong cultural, economic, educational, familial, and many other kinds of ties. This is how he has "savvy" and "know-how." Uprooted from this community, in which he knows doctors, grocerty stores, loan sharks, and other categories of

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[4]Pearl and Riessman, New Careers for the Poor (Free Press, New York, 1965).

important people by their reliability and reputation, he has little left. He may share skin color, language habits, and socioeconomic status--but he cannot perform the "bridge function" in that neighborhood because he is not "connected" there.

Professionalization and the Bridge Function

A more technical term for this role orientation concept is the concept of professionalization. Once it had been learned that in general New Careerists were rejecting professional models in favor of community orientation, another question could be asked: are they rejecting all aspects of the professional role, or only some of them? The findings of the thesis study[5] deal with this problem.

In at least two areas, New Careerists have not taken on the values or characteristics of professionals. They still feel that they can handle the problems they meet at the agency by drawing on a wide range of knowledge and experience, and they appear to feel that the technical skills of the professional are not essential to the job they do. However, they do recognize the authority of the professional to regulate or direct others' behavior in his own sphere of knowledge; and they are moving toward universalistic ways of seeing problems rather than at the particular situation.

What this indicates is that while they accept some elements of the professional model, they reject others. This may be exactly the way in which the bridge function can be carried out in the setting of

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[5]Thompson, op. cit.

the agency. If the aides were becoming professionalized in every way, it could be said that the program just provides another way of teaching people to be professionals; but since the professionalization is selective, it can be suggested that New Careerists are maintaining their own characteristics as indigenous personnel while at the same time doing the job at the agency.

The implication of this is that while New Careerists are changed and molded by the program, they are not destroyed as effective bridging personnel by the changes they undergo. While they are subject to all the areas of "contamination" that Pearl and Riessman mention, apparently they have some resistance to ti in certain areas. In sum, the data seem to say that New Careerists are succeeding as paraprofessionals, but that they are doing it within the modes of action and expression that they have as members of low-income groups.

The Supervisor-Aide Relationship

Another topic dealt with in this thesis on professionalization was the question of how the relationship between the aide and his supervisor affects the degree to which he becomes professionalized. The findings in these data were at best inconclusive, but a few comments can be made here. This relationship has been almost totally neglected in New Careers research, and as a result not much is known about how these relationships develop and change over time.

However, in many cases, it is likely that the supervisor really deos not teach the aide his job at all, but gives him another job which he can carry out independently of the supervisor. From interviews conducted during the operation of the program, it appears that this is true

of some of the jobs in almost every agency. In this way, the necessity of having an involved or complex relationship with the aide is circumvented, and the supervisor only has to supervise. Combined with the vague job definitions New Careerists face anyway, just because of the roles they play, this makes for a situation in which the aide can define his own way of doing the job he has to do; and if the job is a professional kind of work, it is likely that he will develop professional ways of doing it.

Assuming that the supervisor is readily available for giving advice and consultation, however, this may be the best situation in which the New Careerist can perform the bridging function. It is possible that the absence of a strong personal relationship between the aide and the supervisor, rather than undermining the goals of the program, may foster them. A strong pattern of power and dependence between the two might lead the aide to become the kind of professional that his supervisor is, and this would frustrate his ability to perform the bridge function and prevent the realization of the basic idea of the program.

It may be suggested, then, that as long as the supervisors and aides get along with each other, they be encouraged to work on different tasks rather than sharing the same one. This is more difficult in some settings than in others, but it seems most likely to allow the bridging function to be performed.

Professional and Non-Professional Tasks

The fact that the data show few differences between aides along the dimension of type of task seems to indicate that the specific kinds of work the aide is doing do not determine the rate at which he becomes

professionalized. Clerical and routine types of work are undesirable in the program, because they do not involve any kind of client or pupil contact for the aide and therefore do not allow him to be effective at being a bridge person. At the same time, it appears that type of task does not have much to do with whether a person becomes professionalized or not. Consequently, it can be concluded that clerical jobs are not intrinsically bad as regards professionalization. When changes are being made, then, in the kinds of jobs and tasks that are available to New Careerists, it appears that the main concern should be not so much with whether or not the New Careerist can learn professional skills and attitudes, but with whether or not he has an opportunity to meet the people for whom the agency is responsible.

Drop-outs and Stay-ins on Role Orientation

The last aspect of this whole broad area that was researched empirically was how the drop-outs and stay-ins differ in their role orientation. Detailed data on this can be found in Chapter V, below.

In general the drop-outs are considerably more professionally oriented than the stay-ins, at the outset of the program. With few exceptions, this holds true even when control variables are introduced. Drop-outs feel more strongly than stay-ins that semi-professional qualifications are necessary to do a good job as a New Careerist. They see themselves as being somewhat different from the rest of the people in the low-income community, as being "more concerned" than other people. And finally, they are more likely than the stay-ins to see themselves as professional workers. In any case, it is clear that something about very professionally oriented attitudes does not agree well with the New

Careers program. It may be that New Careerists become frustrated in their agencies if they are very professionally oriented; it may be that they could get jobs elsewhere which allowed them to become upwardly mobile more rapidly and more easily. On the other hand, it may mean that those people who become drop-outs are people who have aspirations and expectations of the New Careers program which it cannot meet. It is possible that when they come to the gap between the guidelines and theories of the program and the way it actually works out in its day-to-day operation, they cannot accept the difference.

In short, these findings support and underscore the findings of the drop-out report[6], in which it was suggested that low-income people "treat plans as promises." The findings here also strongly suggest a need for the orientation program that was suggested in that report, in order to allow individuals to select themselves out of the program before they abandon their previous jobs and ways of life.

Further, it can be suggested that there is a need to determine who these professionally oriented people are--especially the extreme cases--and to put them into jobs in which the difference is not as great between the ideals of the program and the way it is actually carried out. It has been pointed out over and over in these reports that there is a great variety in the types of jobs and agencies available in the program. This is a situation which could be utilized to place people in jobs that

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[6]Patricia Larson, Mary Bible, and R. Frank Falk, "Down the Up Staircase: A Study of New Careers Drop-Outs," New Careers Research Report, General College and Minnesota Center for Sociological Research, University of Minnesota, May 1969.

would fill their needs. Yet, as is pointed ou in the drop-out report, assignments ot agencies do not utilize to their full value the diversity of agencies and aides in the program.

These are two suggestions as to how the program might be changed to allow more professionally oriented people to remain in the program longer. The main problem seems to be one of how to make the very big difference between guidelines and reality more palatable to New Careerists.

Combined with the other recommendations made in other sections, these might allow some potential drop-outs to remain while at the same time preserving the integrity of the "bridge function" idea in the ongoing program.

CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM

The New Careers Program

Among the programs set up to combat poverty in the last few years was that of New Careers. The Minneapolis branch of New Careers involves some 200 previously low-income persons. These individuals, who are from low-income neighborhoods and were unemployed or underemployed at the beginning of the program, are now involved in two types of activities. During half of their working day, they attend the University of Minnesota, taking classes generally related to the areas of poverty and casework, although their choice of courses is practically unlimited. During the other half of the day, they are employed at agencies which are basically involved in attacking the problems of poor or otherwise disadvantaged people with the aid of professional techniques and knowledge. Included among these agencies are the Minneapolis Public Schools, Twin Cities Opportunities Industrialization, the Minnesota State Penitentiary (Stillwater), and Family and Children's Service (a United Fund Agency).

The purpose of the program is twofold: to alleviate the problem of personal poverty on the part of the New Careerist; and in the process to improve professional services to the poverty community and thus to alleviate the wider, community-based poverty that resulted in that individual's poverty. This second objective bears further discussion. One of the widely discussed problems of social workers, teachers, and other personnel who work with low-income people has been that they bring

to their job situation a very different set of values and habits than those of their clients. This involves pervasive differences in language, dress, and interpersonal relationships, as well as in more objective aspects such as socio-economic background, race, and education. As has been pointed out by many critics of this system[7] of social services, the professional is largely cut off from his client by the characteristics of both. One of the major purposes of the New Careers program is to use people who are indigenous to the neighborhood--who understand the problems of the poverty community by personal experience--as a bridge between the professional and his client, performing a function that neither of the other two could perform. In this function it is felt that the characteristics New Careerists have as members of low-income groups make them especially able to deal with the problems of those groups--in other words, that there are certain jobs that cannot be done by any other group of people. The idea is not just to provide jobs to help the disadvantaged; it is to get them into jobs wherein they can make a distinctive, unique, and lasting contribution to the community.

Potential Special Abilities of New Careerists as Paraprofessional Workers

The original idea of the New Careers program culminated in a book called New Careers for the Poor, by Pearl and Riessman.[8] They suggest

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[7]For example, see Eleanor E. Maccoby and Nathan Maccoby, "The Interview: A Tool of Social Science," in Gardner Lindzey (ed.), Handbook of Social Psychology, Volume I (Reading, Mass.: Addison'Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1954), Chapter 12. Also see Manford H. Kuhn, "The Interview and the Professional Relationship," in Arnold M. Rose (ed.), Human Behavior and Social Processes (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1962) pp. 193-206.

[8]Arthur Pearl and Frank Riessman, New Careers for the Poor (New York: Free Press, 1963).

that there are several factors which can be seen to suggest that indigenous nonprofessionals can be particularly effective in this "bridge" kind of work. First, they point out the basic fact that the aides are poor, that they live in the neighborhood, and that they know the people and the community first-hand. These characteristics enable them to move freely about in the community, without much need to "validate themselves" or to establish themselves in a relationship to the community. This is in marked contrast to the trained professional. The point is that the New Careerist is already placed in the community and the basis of all his statuses and roles is there, while the professional, before he begins to do his work, must first establish and validate a place for himself in the community.

The second reason for the potential success of the New Careerist in these jobs is that he "can be an acceptable model--a significant other . . . --he is one of 'us'."[9] This is related to the first quality, but its main importance is that it changes the tone of the "helping process" that is basic to social work in most cases. It allows the recipient of the services to use a member of his community as a model, rather than to measure up to the somewhat more abstract and often unattainable standards of the professional. The professional does not really do his job by serving as a model; he does it by helping to set meaningful goals and to provide the means of attaining them. The New Careerist, on the other hand, can provide a more visible and concrete kind of model rather than an abstract goal such as "success" or upward mobility."

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[9] Ibid., p. 85.

Third, low-income people can be expected to have a kind of know-how that comes from living in the poverty community, from dealing with its problems on a personal level. As Pearl and Riessman put it, with "the know-how to deal with neighborhoods problems from the 'inside', not from above . . . there is much greater probability that their suggestions add 'savvy' and will 'fit' their clients."[10]

Fourth, low-income people can be expected to succeed in these positions because of their basic approach to the situations and problems of life in the low-income community. Pearl and Riessman call this "style"[11] and point out that some of the basic components of the style of low-income people, especially in contrast to those of the professionals who work with them, are their informality, their tendency to be "directive," "active" and "partisan" in their approaches to problems, and their tendency to attribute events to external causes rather than to seek internal ones. These are in marked contrast to those of the professional worker in general, who keeps relationships somewhat structured and formal, who tends to act in more persuasive ways rather than by taking direct actions in all situations, and who generally minimized the effect of the environment in causing and solving problems in favor of seeking causes and solutions within the client himself.

These four qualities of low-income indigenous personnel--community membership, ability to be a meaningful model, "savvy," and "style"--then, make them potentially able to deal with the problems of the low-income

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[10] Ibid., pp. 85-86.

[11] Ibid., p. 86.

community in a different way than that which professionals use, and to render the professionals' work more meaningful and effective in the low-income community. It should be emphasized that New Careerists are not expected to replace professionals nor to do their job. They are expected to do a new kind of job to which they are especially suited because of their own personal and social characteristics, and which the professionals cannot do.

The Training of New Careerists

Given these low-income persons with their potential effectiveness as nonprofessional workers in the low-income community from which they came, the program is faced with the need to train them in some way for the job that they will be expected to perform. It is not to be assumed that low-income persons can do their job just as they are, without some acquired knowledge and training; indeed, Pearl and Riessman[12] suggest that their training should go on throughout the period of their involvement with the program.

In the Minneapolis New Careers Program, training comes mainly from two sources: the University and the agency in which the person is employed. The course sequence at the University involves participation of every New Careerist in the University culture and environment, and exposure to the academic setting. This training is fairly general and has only indirect applications on the job New Careerists do.

More specific and job-related is the training New Careerists get

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[12] Ibid., p. 156.

at the agency in which they work. This is intended to enable them to do the tasks involved in the job itself. In contrast to the training at the University, this training is probably not very generalizable across agencies. A person who was trained to work in one agency would probably not be able to use much of what he had learned there in his work at another agency. This is a variety of learning through apprenticeship.

The main point is that all of the training New Careerists receive comes from professionals, both at the University and at the agency. It can probably be assumed that these professionals employ their acquired values and normative systems--their basic approach--in their interactions with New Careerists, and that they attempt to teach them to take a professional approach to the problems they deal with on the job. The kind of approach this is will be discussed below. This is where the problem comes in: <u>are the special abilities which enable New Careerists to fulfill the bridge function being trained out of them by the professionals who are responsible for their training?</u> If this is the case, then the New Careers program could be seen as just an alternate path to professional status, attitudes, and techniques; this would be contradictory to the basic concept of the program, which is that New Careerists can perform a service in the low-income community which cannot be performed by the members of any other group. The way the program is set up seems simultaneously to value their characteristics as low-income people and to attempt to train these qualities out of them so that they can do a more "professional" job. Pearl and Riessman summarize this way:

> Professionalization includes, but implies much more than task rationalization. It implies a variety of norms and attitudes and a perspective that covers a broad spectrum. It connotes . . . looking at the broader implications of behavior and practice; seeing the relationships to some degree, of a broad range of phenomena. An indigenous nonprofessional is very much task centered and "now" centered and this is his strength and his weakness. Moreover, professional socialization constrains toward much more role-segmentation in relation to the client. Indigenous personnel . . . have the capacity for a much more wholistic client relationship, and again this is their strength and their potential limitation.[13]

Contamination

In sum, one of the major problems of the New Careers program, theoretically and practically, is that the special talents and characteristics of the New Careerist *qua* low-income person may be compromised or made less effective by contact with professionals, and that in the process their ability to do a job that no one else can do will be lost. Pearl and Riessman call this the danger of "contamination" and cite four major sources of it:[14]

1. Through being trained by professionals;
2. Through increased general association with professionals in the agency;
3. Through being given status and recognition by the agency and thereby acquiring some identification with professional models (or competing with professionals for this recognition);
4. Through searching for a career line, and acquiring related education.

This research is centerd around this whole issue of whether New Careerists become significantly more professionally oriented as time goes by, and if so, of whether they are able to preserve their low-income

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[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 196-197.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 197.

characteristics and orientation and retain their ability to perform a unique function in the low-income community at the same time.

CHAPTER III

THE INSTRUMENT

The Variables

The problem, then, became one of attempting to assess the extent to which New Careerists had taken on professional roles, and the ways in which they had done it. The first approach to this problem was a six-item questionnaire which attempted to tap both community-orientation and professional-orientation in a general way.

The Items

There were six items pertaining to these variables in the questionnaire that was administered to the New Careerists. Each had four Likert-Scale response categories: Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, and Strongly Disagree. The items were as follows:

1. In order to be an effective aide, a person must be a semi-professional.
2. Aides are really the most concerned people in their neighborhoods.
3. Aides are usually different from most poverty residents.
4. Those people who become aides have more understanding of poverty than professionals.
5. I consider my self a professional worker.
6. I would not like to be a supervisor.

For items 1, 2, 3, and 5, a Strongly Agree or Agree response indicates a professionally-oriented attitude; on these items, a Disagree or Strongly Disagree indicates a community-oriented attitude. For items 4 and 6, responses of Strongly Agree and Agree indicate community orientation, and responses of Disagree and Strongly Disagree indicate professional orientation.

Administration and Scoring of the Items

As was mentioned above, these six role-orientation items were included in the large New Careers questionnaire. This questionnaire was administered in September of 1967, in April of 1968, and in December of 1968.

For this report, all six items were socred individually and all four response categories were tabulated for each question.

Controlling by X^2

The Design Model

Throughout the operations for this report, controls were run on the data, in order to see what effect, if any, certain characteristics of New Careerists had on the variables. The process of controlling is basically a process of determining whether certain intervening variables (such as age or education) are producing the observed differences between the groups on the dependent variable, or whether the variable being tested for (role-orientation) is actually producing the variation. The process of controlling was done by using the Chi Square (x^2) test of significance. This involves a standard procedure for every control variable and every item. The general model, using age and stay-in or drop-out status as examples, looks like this:

	Professionally-Oriented			Community-Oriented		
	Age 0-29	30-39	40+	Age 0-29	30-39	40+
Stay-ins						
Drop-outs						

A x^2 test of significance is run, then for each of the three age categories. In this example, the result is three 2x2 tables like this:

For Age 0-29 Years

	Professionally-Oriented	Community-Oriented
Stay-ins		
Drop-outs		

The x^2 test tells us whether, for this given age group, stay-ins and drop-outs differ significantly on their role-orientation. If there is no significant difference on any of these three tests, in the case of age, we can conclude that about the same role-orientation tendencies can be predicted among stay-ins regardless of their age, and that drop-outs too can be expected to follow the same general patterns of role-orientation no matter what their age.

If some significant differences are observed between the stay-ins and drop-outs in any particular category of the control variable, then the control variable must be taken into account in any prediction that might be made from the data. All of these tests are valuable for understanding the role-orientation of New Careerists.

Probability Level

In all of these x^2 tests, a significance level of .20 was used. This means that the probability of the given finding occurring by chance is less than or equal to 20 times out of 100. In most cases, a more conservative probability level of .05 is used in sociological research. For these purposes, however, it is felt that the consequences of error in the liberal direction are minimal, while the consequences of error in the conservative direction may be the sacrifice of information important to the future of the program and for the explanation of observed past trends.

Small Expected Frequencies

The x^2 test is based on a comparison between the observed frequencies in the various categories and the frequencies that could be expected on the basis of the distribution of the dependent and independent variables. If one category of either the dependent or the independent variable has few people in it when a control variable is used, these expected frequencies will be small. When they are less than 5, the value of x^2 is severely affected. In many cases in these data, one or more of the expected frequencies is below 5. As a general policy in this report, when more than 20% of the cells have expected frequencies under 5, the findings will be considered too unstable to base predictions on. These limits are drawn to allow borderline cases to be considered, while cells with extremely few cases can be dropped.

The Control Variables

The variables which were used as controls were chosen because of the theoretical or logical possibility that they might influence or affect the role-orientation of New Careerists. They are as follows:

Sex

Sex was used as a control variable in all aspects of these data, but it will not appear in the report because there were no instances in which it proved to make any significant difference in the result. Apparently, what differences there are among New Careerists in professional and community orientation have very little to do with differences in sex.

Age

New Careerists were separated into three groups by age, and most of the items were run with age controlled for. The three groups were: less than 30 years of age; 30-39 years of age; and 40 or more years of age. The main rationale for this was differences commonly assumed and sometimes observed between age groups, according to attitudes on various issues.

Previous Occupation

It was felt that a New Careerist's previous training and occupation might lead him to have certain kinds of experiences influencing his later degree of role-orientation. Previous occupation was measured by the North-Hatt Scale. This is a commonly used instrument which places occupations on a scale ranging from one to seven, with occupations with the highest general status ranking 1 and the lowest ranking 7. Because of the requirements of the test that was used for controlling, x^2, New Careerists' scores on this variables were grouped as follows: 1, 2, 3, and 4; 5 only; 6; and 7. These can be interpreted generally as high, medium, and low occupational prestige groups, respectively. The scale presents some ambiguities of interpretation, however, when New Careerists are placed on it. For example, the occupation of policeman is placed at 5 on the North-Hatt Scale, which may in some cases be a lower rank than that which the individual held on entering the program. However, if a New Careerist is a police aide, the stability and future of the job may make it a more attractive one to him than his former job. The North-Hatt Scale should certainly not be taken as a rigid guide to occupational ratings. The meanings New Careerists attach to their occupational roles must be taken into account as well.

Educational Experience

Another variable which might be expected to have some effect on the New Careerist's attitudes toward their jobs and futures is their educational background. There is reason to believe, for example, that more highly educated aides might tend to have more professionally oriented attitudes at the outset than those with less education. To determine whether or not these kinds of relationships do exist, education was controlled for. Again, because of the requirements of the test used, the data on education were collapsed. New Careerists were separated into those with a high school education or less, and those with some college.

Type of Work

A fifth control variable was the type of work the aides do at the agency. Although this probably has little effect at the outset of the program, it is a useful control variable for later administrations. For this purpose, aides were separated into two general categories, teacher aides and social work aides. Teacher aides are involved in some kind of instructional work, either with adults or with children. Social work aides generally work in agencies involved in what can be called "social work"--counseling, casework, interviewing, and so forth. It should be understood that these categories are very general and many different kinds of individuals are included in each.

Previous Experience as an Aide

Many New Careerists had worked as aides in agencies under other programs before becoming New Careerists. It was felt that this previous

experience might lead some aides to have a different set of expectations for the role of aide and consequently different attitudes toward professionalization. For this variable, aides were divided into two groups: those who had previous experience as aides, and those who did not.

Participation in Another Anti-Poverty Program

The reason for including this variable was basically the same as with the last variable; it was felt that some contact with the ideology and workings of poverty programs might cause the aide to have some preformed attitudes that inexperienced aides would not have. Again, aides were divided into two basic categories: those who had had previous participation, and those who had not.

Summary

On all of the data to be discussed in the next sections of this report, these control variables will be employed in an attempt to get at the causal relationships in as comprehensive a way as possible.

First, an attempt will be made to describe the incoming group of New Careerists (Fall, 1967) on the basis of their professional or community orientation.

CHAPTER IV

NEW CAREERISTS ON ENTERING THE PROGRAM

Within a very brief time after the beginning of the New Careers program in the fall of 1967, the first of three questionnaires was administered to 185 New Careerists. A summary of their responses to the questions can be found in this chapter.

Item 1: In order to be an effective aide, a person must be a semi-professional.

On this item, almost half of the incoming New Careerists responded in the Disagree category, indicating that they felt at the outset that semi-professional attitudes and abilities were not necessary for their participation in the program. Including all four categories of response, however, it is clear that about forty per cent of the people felt that these abilities were necessary. In general, then, New Careerists were more community oriented than professionally oriented on this item, but not strongly so. These findings are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1
RESPONSES OF INCOMING NEW CAREERISTS TO ITEM 1
(In order to be an effective aide, a person must be a semi-professional.)

Type of Response	Percentage of Respondents	
Very Professionally Oriented	10.4%	
Professionally Oriented	30.0%	
Community Oriented	47.0%	
Very Community Oriented	12.6%	
TOTAL	100 %	N = 183

When the control variables were used in the research, none showed any effect on the dependent variable, professional versus community orientation. Apparently, as measured by this item, New Careerists' degree of professionalization is relatively independent of other factors.

Item 2: Aides are really the most concerned people in their neighborhoods.

Here again, the incoming New Careerists show a predominantly community oriented response, with about 65% disagreeing with the statement. The modal category again is the Disagree choice. What this seems to indicate is that New Careerists are not inclined to feel themselves to be superior in understanding or commitment to the other people in the low-income community. In general, it shows that New Careerists are community oriented (rather than professionally oriented) in this respect. The data for this item are shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2
RESPONSES OF INCOMING NEW CAREERISTS TO ITEM 2
(Aides are really the most concerned people in their neighborhoods.)

Type of Response	Percentage of Respondents	
Very Professionally Oriented	6.1%	
Professionally Oriented	27.7%	
Community Oriented	54.4%	
Very Community Oriented	11.8%	
TOTAL	100 %	N = 180

When the control variables were incorporated into the statistical procedure, only one showed any significant effect on the professional/

community orientation of New Careerists. This control variable was the previous occupation of the New Careerist. The results of this test are shown in Table 3, below.

TABLE 3
PROFESSIONAL/COMMUNITY ORIENTATION AS SHOWN BY ITEM 2
(Aides are really the most concerned people in their neighborhoods)
AND THE PREVIOUS OCCUPATION OF THE NEW CAREERIST

Role Orientation	Previous Occupational Status				Totals
	Very Low	Low	High	Very High	
Professionally Oriented	9	13	3	5	30
Community Oriented	19	12	28	15	69
TOTALS	28	25	31	20	104

Statistical Test:
$x^2 = 10.28$
$p < .02 > .01$

As can be seen from the table above, aides with occupational backgrounds with higher occupational status can be expected to be significantly more community-oriented than those with lower occupational status. This is the opposite of what might be intuitively predicted, and deserves at least some discussion.

One possible explanation is that the aide with higher degree of occupational status may have a broader range of contacts within the community than those with lower status. This might cause him to be more aware, for example, of such personnel as school social workers, community leaders, and so on. The question was intended to tap response to the people who <u>live</u> in the nieghborhood only, but this may not have been the way in which responses were actually given.

Another possible explanation for this might be the effect on New Careerists of their involvement with the program itself. For aides with previous occupations with lower status rankings, the program may be a big step upward, involving new feelings of confidence and self-worth. For those with higher status previous occupations the increments in these areas may not be so large.

At any rate, professionally oriented people, as measured by this item, tend to be persons with previous occupations having lower status.

Item 3: Aides are usually different from most poverty residents.

On this item, New Careerists showed up even more community oriented, with 78% disagreeing with the statement. The modal category was again the Disagree choice. These data are presented in Table 4, below.

TABLE 4
RESPONSES OF INCOMING NEW CAREERISTS TO ITEM 3
(Aides are usually different from most poverty residents.)

Type of Response	Percentage of Respondents
Very Professionally Oriented	1.1%
Professionally Oriented	20.9%
Community Oriented	60.9%
Very Community Oriented	17.1%
TOTAL	100 % N = 182

In meaning, this statement is closely related to the second question, in that it forces the New Careerist mentally to set himself off from his community and make a comparison. The results are the same in

both cases: most aides see no difference. Both of these items are good reflections of one of the basic concepts of the New Careers program, which suggests that ideally New Careerists should work from the vantage point of their own community.

It seems essential to the "bridge function"--the idea that New Careerists should function to interpret the low-income community residents' problems to the professional and to interpret the professional's work to the residents--that New Careerists be firmly rooted in their community and that they understand the problems of poverty from first-hand experience.

Item 3 and Educational Background

Only one of the control variables with any significant relationship to Item 3 was the previous education of the New Careerist. These data are shown below in Table 5.

TABLE 5
PROFESSIONAL/COMMUNITY ORIENTATION AS SHOWN BY ITEM 3
(Aides are usually different from most poverty residents)
AND THE PREVIOUS EDUCATION OF THE NEW CAREERIST

Role Orientation	Education 0-12 years	13+ years	Totals
Professionally Oriented	17	9	26
Community Oriented	81	15	96
Totals	98	24	122

Statistical Test:
$x^2 = 4.669$
$p < .05 > .02$

New Careerists are more community-oriented than professionally-oriented on this item regardless of their education. However, those who have some college education tend to be more professionally oriented than those who have a high school education or less. This seems to follow logically, if the process of gaining a college education is viewed as an avenue to upward social mobility and further professionalization. It may also reflect the differences in life style that could be anticipated between the two groups because of their differential experiences since high school graduation. Sexual differences--and the attendant differences in life style and experience of community--may also have some influence in this area.

In sum, New Careerists do not consider themselves to be basically different from other poverty residents--and can be said to be community oriented on this basis. Although New Careerists with education beyond high school are more professionally oriented on this item than those without it, as a group they are still community oriented. These findings underscore those for items 1 and 2, in which New Careerists are also seen to be primarily community oriented.

Item 4: Those people who become aides have more understanding of poverty than professionals.

This item switches the attention from a concern with the aide as a member of his residential community to the aide as a potential or real member of a profession. It attempts to discover whether New Careerists can or will accept and use professional knowledge about the problems they have, or whether instead they feel that poverty is something that must be lived through before it can be understood.

At the outset, New Careerists were for all practical purposes evenly divided on this item, with 48% disagreeing and 52% agreeing. These data are shown in Table 6, below.

TABLE 6
RESPONSES OF INCOMING NEW CAREERISTS TO ITEM 4
(Those people who become aides have more understanding of poverty than professionals.)

Type of Response	Percentage of Respondents	
Very Professionally Oriented	12.7%	
Professionally Oriented	39.0%	
Community Oriented	39.0%	
Very Community Oriented	9.3%	
Total	100 %	N = 182

Apparently this is a reflection of the existence of two very different groups of people among the New Careerists. Further tests were run on these data to determine whether or not any other variables can be used to provide a partial explanation of the finding, and two showed significant differences.

One of the areas in which New Careerists showed significant differences between subclasses on this item was previous education. As is clear from Table 7, below, aides who had education beyond the high school level tended to be more professionally oriented than those who did not.

TABLE 7
PROFESSIONAL/COMMUNITY ORIENTATION AS SHOWN BY ITEM 4
AND THE PREVIOUS EDUCATION OF THE NEW CAREERISTS

Role Orientation	Education 0-12 Years	13+ Years	Totals
Professionally Oriented	45	16	61
Community Oriented	52	10	62
Totals	97	26	123

Statistical Tests:
$x^2 = 1.882$
$p < .20 > .10$

This reflects the finding in Item 3 along the dimension of previous education, and seems to indicate that for at least some aspects of community and professional orientation, education is a prime factor. There may be two explanations for this. First, people who tend to be more professionally oriented may tend to be those who go to college as well, at the outset. Or, second, it may be that there is something in the experience of higher education that causes a person to become more professionally oriented. For purposes of this research, the causation is what is important; its direction is out of the present scope. In short, education is positively associated with professional orientation and negatively associated with community orientation.

The other variable that had a significant effect on whether the individual was professionally oriented or community oriented on this item was his prior participation in other poverty programs. The results of the test on these data are shown in Table 8, below.

TABLE 8
PROFESSIONAL/COMMUNITY ORIENTATION AS SHOWN BY ITEM 4
(Those people who become aides have more understanding of poverty than professionals)
AND PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION IN A POVERTY PROGRAM

Role Orientation	Previous Participation in Poverty Program Yes	No	Totals
Professionally Oriented	20	39	59
Community Oriented	32	32	64
Totals	52	71	123

Statistical Tests:
$x^2 = 4.669$
$p < .05 > .02$

Apparently, prior participation in a poverty program fosters more community-oriented attitudes. This may be a result of the indefinite definition of the term "poverty program." If it is taken to mean programs affiliated with the so-called War on Poverty, this finding would seem anomalous. It could be assumed that socially mobile persons would participate in these programs, and that they would be more professionally oriented than people who did not participate.

If, on the other hand, the question is taken to mean poverty programs--in the sense of welfare, ADC, and similar programs--then individuals who would respond that they did participate in these programs could be expected to be more community-oriented. They would spend more time, money and energy in the low-income community simply because of their unstable financial position.

This question, then, is of doubtful interpretation and should be researched further. However, New Careerists are deeply split on this item as to their professional and community orientation and further research seems indicated.

Item 5: I consider myself a professional worker.

Like items 1 and 2, this item shows New Careerists to be more community oriented than professionally oriented. On this item, however, the professionally-oriented New Careerists are in a substantial minority. These data are presented in Table 9, below.

TABLE 9
RESPONSES OF INCOMING NEW CAREERISTS TO ITEM 5
(I consider myself a professional worker.)

Type of Response	Percentage of Respondents	
Very Professionally Oriented	2.2%	
Professionally Oriented	21.7%	
Community Oriented	63.6%	
Very Community Oriented	12.5%	
Total	100 %	N = 184

This may be partly a result of the strange wording of the strange wording of the question itself. Some New Careerists, having come from the kinds of backgrounds they have, may have a stereotype of a professional position as one which they could never attain themselves. This might in turn cause them to react strongly to this question. However, the responses to this question are clearly slanted toward community orientation. Since there seems to be one distinct group of New Careerists on this item who are quite different from the substantial majority, the control variables were used.

Two of these variables showed differences on this item. First, the previous education of the New Careerist was related to his responses. Although both high-school graduates and people with some college tended

to be community-oriented, those with some college were less so than the others. These data are shown in Table 10, below.

TABLE 10
PROFESSIONAL/COMMUNITY ORIENTATION AS SHOWN BY ITEM 5
(I consider myself a professional worker)
AND THE PREVIOUS EDUCATION OF THE NEW CAREERIST

Role Orientation	Education 0-12 years	13+ years	Totals
Professionally Oriented	17	9	26
Community Oriented	78	18	96
Totals	95	27	122

Statistical Test:
$x^2 = 2.988$
$p < .10 > .05$

Again, this finding is congruent with the findings on the other role-orientation items, concerning the effect of education on role-orientation. They are also congruent with the concept of education as a way of becoming a professional, and perhaps the concept of the differential life styles of those who are differentially educated.

The other control variable that showed some differences among New Careerists on this item was whether or not the New Careerist had been an aide before. The findings in this test are contrary to what might be predicted: New Careerists who have been aides before are <u>less</u> professionally oriented than those who have not been aides before, although both groups are largely community oriented. These data are presented in Table 11, below.

TABLE 11
PROFESSIONAL/COMMUNITY ORIENTATION AS SHOWN BY ITEM 5
(I consider myself a professional worker)
AND THE PREVIOUS AIDE EXPERIENCE OF THE NEW CAREERIST

Role Orientation	Previous Aide Experience Yes	No	Totals
Professionally Oriented	6	20	26
Community Oriented	51	45	96
Totals	57	65	122

Statistical Test:
$x^2 = 7.421$
$p < .01 > .001$

One explanation for this finding might be that those New Careerists who have been aides before could have a clearer definition of what a professional is and what he does. Because of this prior experience, he may have a clearer reference point in defining himself according to this characteristic. Several other explanations might be advanced, but this one seems the most likely and is the only one that can be suggested without further research.

In sum, as measured by this item, New Careerists are substantially more community than professionally oriented. Within the group, aides with some college education and those with no prior experience are more likely to be professionally oriented than those with a high school education and no prior experience as an aide.

Item 6: I would not like to be a supervisor.

This is the only item on which New Careerists are substantially professionally oriented. The data are presented in Table 12.

TABLE 12
RESPONSES OF INCOMING NEW CAREERISTS TO ITEM 6
(I would not like to be a supervisor.)

Type of Response	Percentage of Respondents	
Very Professionally Oriented	16.8%	
Professionally Oriented	48.6%	
Community Oriented	29.2%	
Very Community Oriented	5.4%	
Total	100 %	N = 185

This item is probably more reliable as to the responses it elicits than Item 5, since it refers more to the future and does not force the beginning New Careerist to call himself a professional. What the item apparently demonstrates is that New Careerists in general have upward mobility aspirations, whether toward professionalism or not, and they want a good deal of responsibility and authority in the job. Aides seem definitely to see New Careers as an avenue to upward mobility and they seem to want to become upwardly mobile, assuming the duties and responsibilities of a professional.

It should be remembered, however, that they probably had only a vague idea of what a "supervisor" was, since they had only been involved in the program a few days or weeks when the questionnaire was administered.

Only one of the control variables showed any further information on this item--the New Careerist's previous experience as an aide. These data are whoen in Table 13.

TABLE 13
PROFESSIONAL/COMMUNITY ORIENTATION AS SHOWN BY ITEM 6
(I would not like to be a supervisor)
AND THE PREVIOUS AIDE EXPERIENCE OF THE NEW CAREERIST

Role Orientation	Previous Aide Experience Yes	No	Totals
Professionally Oriented	36	52	88
Community Oriented	20	14	34
Totals	56	66	122

Statistical Test:
$x^2 = 3.170$
$p < .10 > .05$

These results are substantially the same as those in item 5. Apparently, previous experience as an aide tends in general to be connected with less likelihood of professional orientation. Just why this might be is difficult to say; it may be a more clear conception of what the words "supervisor" and "professional" mean, or it may be that other intervening variables are operating.

Summary

Judging from these six items, New Careerists on entering the program in September of 1967 were almost entirely community oriented. One item showed strong professional orientation and one showed little clear-cut orientation at all, but the other four showed various degrees of community orientation.

In the next section, the differences between the stay-ins and the drop-outs on these six items will be discussed.

CHAPTER V

DROP-OUTS VERSUS STAY-INS ON PROFESSIONAL AND COMMUNITY ORIENTATION

One of the central concerns in New Careers research has been with what causes people to drop out of the program--both characteristics of New Careerists themselves and characteristics of the program. Analysis was also done of these data to determine how the drop-outs differ from the stay-ins, if at all, in their professional and community orientation.

Statistical Procedures

As with the data in the last section, these data are at the ordinal level of measurement. They use the same items and the same response categories. However, since this section compares the stay-ins and drop-outs at Time 1, the samples are independent. In addition, there is a different number of individuals in the two samples. For independent samples in which the subjects are not matched but for which the level of measurement is ordinal, the Mann-Whitney U test is appropriate and has been used here. The test statistic is the z-distribution, which is the large sample approximation of the U distribution.

The same comments as to level of significance that were described in Chapter II apply here. All p values will be presented, and all will be the one-tailed values.

Item 1: In order to be an effective aide a person must be a semi-professional.

Table 14, below, shows the frequencies of response for drop-outs and stay-ins at Time 1 on this item.

TABLE 14
PROFESSIONAL/COMMUNITY ORIENTATION OF STAY-INS AND DROP-OUTS ON ITEM 1 (In order to be an effective aide, a person must be a semi-professional) AT TIME 1

Role Orientation	Stay-in	Drop-out	Totals
Very Professionally Oriented	12	7	19
Professionally Oriented	43	12	55
Community Oriented	72	14	86
Very Community Oriented	19	4	23
Totals	146	37	183

Statistical Test:
$z = -1.47$
$p = .071$

As can be seen in this table, drop-outs are significantly more professionally oriented on this item than stay-ins, at least when they first come into the program. Apparently, the drop-outs value the technical and training characteristics of professionals in dealing with the problems of poverty more than the stay-ins do.

When the control variables were run on these variables, three groupings showed significant differences between the stay-ins and drop-outs. First, for aides between 29 and 39 years of age, the stay-ins were considerably more community-oriented than the drop-outs. These data are shown below in Table 15.

TABLE 15
PROFESSIONAL/COMMUNITY ORIENTATION OF STAY-INS AND DROP-OUTS
AGED 29-39 ON ITEM 1

Role Orientation	Stay-in	Drop-out	Totals
Professionally oriented	15	11	26
Community oriented	30	9	39
Totals	45	20	65

Statistical Test:
$x^2 = 2.708$
$p < .10 > .05$

Among the members of other age groups, there were no significant differences between stay-ins and drop-outs. These findings are difficult to interpret, except to say that the tendency of drop-outs to be more professionally oriented is heightened among aides 29-39 years old. Apparently, this age group, in terms of educational background, vocational history, family responsibilities, and similar characteristics, tends toward a more professional orientation.

Another difference that showed up when a control variable was introduced was among aides who had not been aides prior to joining New Careers. Here again, the drop-outs tended to be much more professionally oriented than the stay-ins. These data are shown in Table 16.

TABLE 16
PROFESSIONAL/COMMUNITY ORIENTATION OF STAY-INS AND DROP-OUTS
WHO HAD NO PRIOR EXPERIENCE AS AIDES ON ITEM 1

Role Orientation	Stay-in	Drop-out	Totals
Professionally oriented	23	20	43
Community oriented	41	20	61
Totals	64	40	104

Statistical test:
$x^2 = 2.007$
$p < .20 > .10$

Apparently, when New Careerists who had not been aides before are considered alone, the difference between drop-outs and stay-ins is heightened. Since there is no significant difference between the two groups when New Careerists who have prior aide experience are examined, it is difficult to interpret this finding. The fact that these aides have no previous experience tells us little about what they do have in common that might make a difference.

The final control variable which showed significant differences on this item was previous education. Although there was no significant difference among those with 12 years or less educational experience, those with some college were differentiated as to their professional and community orientation. These data are shown below in Table 17.

TABLE 17
PROFESSIONAL/COMMUNITY ORIENTATION OF STAY-INS AND DROP-OUTS
WITH 13 OR MORE YEARS OF EDUCATION

Role Orientation	Stay-in	Drop-out	Totals
Professionally oriented	9	11	20
Community oriented	15	3	18
Totals	24	14	38

Statistical test:
$x^2 = 5.983$
$p < .02 > .01$

Here again, and even more extremely so, drop-outs are more professionally oriented than stay-ins. What this means is that the drop-outs as a group are influenced in a more professionally oriented direction by their college experience than are the stay-ins. Additional light may be shed on this finding, however, when it is noted that in

general the drop-outs had less formal education than the stay-ins.[13] In other words, this group of drop-outs with post-high school education is by no means typical of the drop-out group. Among this group, however, the aides are significantly more professionally oriented than the stay-ins.

In sum, although drop-outs have less formal education as a group than professionals, they are more professionally oriented on this item. This is especially true for drop-outs between the ages of 30 and 39, for those with no previous experience as aides, and for those with 13 or more years of formal education. For this item--the feeling that aides should be semi-professionals--education is not necessarily related to professional orientation. Rather, it seems to be a set of values, or an approach to the situation of the New Career's aide, which has little to do with the professional status (or lack of it) conferred by educational experience.

Item 2: Aides are really the most concerned people in their neighborhoods.

Again, this item shows the drop-outs to be significantly more professionally oriented, at least at the outset of the program. The data are shown in Table 18.

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[13]Patricia Larson, Mary Bible, and R. Frank Falk, Down the Up Staircase: A Study of New Careers Drop-outs. (New Careers Research, General College and Minnesota Center for Sociological Research), May, 1969.

TABLE 18
PROFESSIONAL/COMMUNITY ORIENTATION OF STAY-INS AND DROP-OUTS
ON ITEM 2 (Aides are really the most concerned people
in their neighborhoods) AT TIME 1

Role Orientation	Stay-in	Drop-out	Totals
Very Professionally oriented	8	3	11
Professionally oriented	36	14	50
Community oriented	83	15	98
Very Community oriented	18	3	21
Totals	145	35	180

Statistical Test:
z = -1.64
p = .0505

As can be seen from the table, the drop-outs are divided about in half on their community and professional orientation, while the stay-ins are heavily community oriented. What this seems to indicate is that drop-outs consider themselves more concerned--and perhaps more aware--about the problems and situations in their own neighborhoods. This reflects a more removed view of the aide's relationship to his neighborhood on the part of the drop-outs. This is in contrast to the approach of the stay-ins, who tend to regard themselves as quite like the other people in the neighborhood, having no particular insights that others do not have.

On this item, several of the control variables showed considerable differences between stay-ins and drop-outs in role orientation. First, age showed some significant differences. For age groups 30-39 years and 40 and over, the drop-outs were more professionally oriented than the stay-ins. For the 20-29 age group, no significant differences were found. The data are in Tables 19 and 20.

TABLE 19
PROFESSIONAL/COMMUNITY ORIENTATION OF STAY-INS AND DROP-OUTS
FOR AGE 30-39 ON ITEM 2

Role Orientation	Stay-in	Drop-out	Totals
Professionally oriented	10	12	22
Community oriented	35	8	43
Totals	45	20	65

Statistical Test:
$x^2 = 8.825$
$p < .01 > .001$

TABLE 20
PROFESSIONAL/COMMUNITY ORIENTATION OF STAY-INS AND DROP-OUTS
FOR AGE 40 OR MORE YEARS, ON ITEM 2

Role Orientation	Stay-in	Drop-out	Totals
Professionally Oriented	9	5	14
Community Oriented	30	5	35
Totals	39	10	49

Statistical Test:
$x^2 = 2.827$
$p < .10 > .05$

In examining these data, it should be kept in mind that drop-outs as a group are significantly younger than stay-ins as a group.[14] However, age does have an effect on role orientation among allies over 30. This may reflect increasing family responsibilities, increased financial responsibilities, a longer period of unsatisfactory job experiences, and many other factors related to the age of the New Careerist. The main point, though, is that drop-outs are more professionally oriented in

[14] Ibid.

these higher age groups.

Another of the control variables which made a difference in these data was the type of work the aides do. Although this factor did not show any differences among Social Work Aides, among Teacher Aides, the drop-outs were again more professional than their counterparts. The drop-outs were divided approximately in half between the two types of role-orientation; the stay-ins were heavily community oriented. The data are in Table 21, below.

TABLE 21
PROFESSIONAL/COMMUNITY ORIENTATION OF STAY-INS AND DROP-OUTS AMONG TEACHER AIDES ON ITEM 2

Role Orientation	Stay-ins	Drop-outs	Totals
Professionally Oriented	12	11	23
Community Oriented	50	16	66
Totals	62	27	89

Statistical Test:
$x^2 = 4.489$
$p < .05 > .02$

Being a teacher aide, then, attenuates the difference between stay-ins and drop-outs on role orientation. At this early date in the program, these differences can probably be largely attributed to the kinds of people who were assigned to the various agencies. This in turn is a problem of recruitment, and the actual causes of the difference would be hard to pinpoint.

Among New Careerists who have been aides, the same relationship is in evidence--drop-outs are significantly more professionally oriented than stay-ins. These data are shown in Table 22.

TABLE 22
PROFESSIONAL/COMMUNITY ORIENTATION OF STAY-INS AND DROP-OUTS AMONG NEW CAREERISTS WITH PRIOR EXPERIENCE AS AIDES ON ITEM 2

Role Orientation	Stay-in	Drop-out	Totals
Professionally Oriented	15	9	24
Community Oriented	43	7	50
Totals	58	16	74

Statistical Test:
$x^2 = 5.284$
$p < .05 > .02$

Again, the drop-outs are about evenly split among this group, while the stay-ins are heavily community oriented. This indicates that among New Careerists who were aides before joining New Careers, this experience tended to make those who would later drop out professionally oriented. Those who would later remain in the program, it may be suggested, may have gotten a more realistic view of what kinds of work and position are involved. At any rate, they seem to set themselves off less from the community in which they live, seeing an aide position as basically one which involves participation in the community more than as an avenue of upward mobility.

The last control variable which showed significant differences in this item was previous education. For both persons with some college experience and those with none, drop-outs were significantly more professionally oriented. These data are shown in Tables 23 and 24.

TABLE 23
PROFESSIONAL/COMMUNITY ORIENTATION OF STAY-INS AND DROP-OUTS
AMONG NEW CAREERISTS WITH 12 OR LESS YEARS OF PRIOR EDUCATION ON ITEM 2

Role Orientation	Stay-in	Drop-out	Totals
Professionally Oriented	30	19	49
Community Oriented	67	23	90
Totals	97	42	139

Statistical Test:
$x^2 = 2.630$
$p < .20 > .10$

TABLE 24
PROFESSIONAL/COMMUNITY ORIENTATION OF STAY-INS AND DROP-OUTS
AMONG NEW CAREERISTS WITH 13 OR MORE YEARS OF PRIOR EDUCATION ON ITEM 2

Role Orientation	Stay-in	Drop-out	Totals
Professionally Oriented	4	6	10
Community Oriented	20	8	28
Totals	24	14	38

Statistical Test:
$x^2 = 3.128$
$p < .10 > .05$

Here again, it should be remembered that the highly educated drop-outs are by no means typical of the drop-out group as a whole. Nevertheless, the observed tendency of the drop-outs to be more professionally oriented on this item--to see themselves as somewhat different from the other people in their neighborhoods--is present in both educational groups.

In sum, on Item 2 the drop-outs tend to be more professionally oriented and the stay-ins more community oriented. This is especially true for aides in both educational groups, for aides aged 30 and above,

and for teacher aides. For their counterparts--those under 30, social work aides, and all other categories of the various control variables--no significant differences were observed among the aides as to their professional or community orientation.

Item 3: Aides are usually different from most poverty residents.

This is a question which attempts to tap basically the same thing as the last one: whether the New Careerist conceives of himself as being just like the other people in the low-income community, or whether he feels that he is different or will become different because of his participation in the program, Again, looking at Table 25, below, it is clear that the drop-outs are more professionally oriented on this item.

TABLE 25
PROFESSIONAL/COMMUNITY ORIENTATION OF STAY-INS AND DROP-OUTS
ON ITEM 3 (Aides are usually different from most poverty residents)
AT TIME 1

Role Orientation	Stay-in	Drop-out	Totals
Very Professionally Oriented	1	1	2
Professionally Oriented	29	9	38
Community Oriented	87	24	111
Very Community Oriented	28	3	31
Totals	145	37	182

Statistical Test:
z = -1.31
p = .0951

This finding is congruent with the findings on the last two items, in which drop-outs exhibited greater professional orientation. It also provides a check on Item 2, in that it seems to be tapping the same sort of area and the response patterns are similar.

When the control variables were run on these data, none showed

any significant influence on the outcome of the test. Apparently, if there are certain characteristics which make drop-outs more likely to be professionally oriented than stay-ins, they are not included in the control variables here. This is not to say, however, that no other factors other than one's drop-out or stay-in status are not at work.

Item 4: Those people who become aides have more understanding of poverty than professionals.

This item, which is probably the key one in determining how New Careerists feel about the relative qualifications of the professional and the indigenous person to work with the problems of poverty, shows almost no difference between stay-ins and drop-outs. These data are in Table 26.

TABLE 26
PROFESSIONAL/COMMUNITY ORIENTATION OF STAY-INS AND DROP-OUTS ON ITEM 4 (Those people who become aides have more understanding of poverty than professionals) AT TIME 1

Role Orientation	Stay-in	Drop-out	Totals
Very Professionally Oriented	13	4	17
Professionally Oriented	57	14	71
Community Oriented	58	13	71
Very Community Oriented	18	5	23
Totals	146	36	252

Statistical Test:
z = - .02
p = .4920

Both groups are nearly evenly divided between aides who are professionally oriented and aides who are community oriented. This is an item which will be interesting to examine after the aides are in the program a few months, to see what effect the program has.

When the control variables were run on this item, none of them showed any significant differences among stay-ins or drop-outs. The fact that this item shows little difference seems to indicate that in the area of professional competence, drop-outs and stay-ins are similar. This is in marked contrast to the previous three items, in which drop-outs are more inclined to set themselves off from the rest of the community than stay-ins.

Item 5: I consider myself a professional worker.

This item, like Item 4, concerns itself directly with the question of the degree to which New Careerists see themselves as professionals--and there is the implicit assumption that the aide who sees himself as a professional worker also sees himself as an equal with the professionals with whom he works.

On this item, stay-ins and drop-outs differ considerably, with the drop-outs again more professionally oriented. These data are shown in Table 27.

TABLE 27
PROFESSIONAL/COMMUNITY ORIENTATION OF STAY-INS AND DROP-OUTS ON ITEM 5 (I consider myself a professional worker), AT TIME 1

Role Orientation	Stay-in	Drop-out	Totals
Very Professionally Oriented	3	1	4
Professionally Oriented	28	12	40
Community Oriented	96	21	117
Very Community Oriented	20	3	23
Totals	147	37	184

Statistical Test:
z = -1.14
p = .1271

While both the drop-outs and the stay-ins were considerably more community than professionally oriented, the drop-outs were more professional in their role-orientation than the stay-ins.

When the control variables were employed on these data, only two showed any significant difference. First, for aides between 30 and 39 years of age, drop-outs were more professionally oriented than stay-ins. The effect of age apparently increases the possibility that this will be true, at least within this particular age grouping. These data are shown in Table 28, below.

TABLE 28
PROFESSIONAL/COMMUNITY ORIENTATION OF STAY-INS AND DROP-OUTS AMONG NEW CAREERISTS AGED 30-39, ON ITEM 5

Role Orientation	Stay-in	Drop-out	Totals
Professionally oriented	5	5	10
Community oriented	40	15	55
Totals	45	20	65

Statistical Test:
$x^2 = 2.052$
$p < .20 > .10$

The other control variable that showed significant differences was the type of work the aides were doing. Although there was no significant difference between the stay-ins and drop-outs among teacher aides, among the social work aides the drop-outs were considerably more professionally oriented than the stay-ins. These data are shown in Table 29.

TABLE 29
PROFESSIONAL/COMMUNITY ORIENTATION OF STAY-INS AND DROP-OUTS AMONG NEW CAREERISTS WHO ARE SOCIAL WORK AIDES, ON ITEM 5

Role Orientation	Stay-in	Drop-out	Totals
Professionally Oriented	15	11	26
Community Oriented	38	10	48
Totals	53	21	74

Statistical Test:
$x^2 = 3.826$
$p < .10 > .05$

On this item, then, drop-outs are more professionally oriented than stay-ins, and this is especially true among aides between the ages of 30 and 39 and social work aides. This reinforces the findings on items 1, 2, and 3, and seems to lend substantial credence to the suggestion that the drop-outs as a group see themselves as more separated from their community and as more professional in their qualifications than the stay-ins.

Item 6: I would not like to be a supervisor.

This item presents the only anomaly among these comparative data on the stay-ins and drop-outs. As is apparent from Table 30, the drop-outs on this item are more community oriented than the stay-ins.

TABLE 30
PROFESSIONAL/COMMUNITY ORIENTATION OF STAY-INS AND DROP-OUTS ON ITEM 6 (I would not like to be a supervisor) AT TIME 1

Role Orientation	Stay-in	Drop-out	Totals
Very Professionally oriented	26	5	31
Professionally oriented	73	17	90
Community oriented	42	12	54
Very Community oriented	7	3	10
Totals	148	37	185

Statistical Test:
$x = -2.01$ $p = .0222$

It should be noted, however, that both drop-outs and stay-ins are more professionally oriented as a group than they are community-oriented.

Part of the explanation for this professional orientation may lie in the fact that these data were collected early in the program, when the aides probably had only a vague idea of what the term "supervisor" meant. Coming from such diverse backgrounds as they do, they may have very different ideas of what it means to be a supervisor, and it is unlikely that they mean necessarily a professional person. At any rate, the drop-outs <u>are</u> less community oriented on this item, and the explanation is hard to arrive at.

When the control variables were run on these data, two of them showed significant differences. First, for aides between 30 and 39 years old, the drop-outs were a great deal more community oriented than the stay-ins, much more extremely so than for the group as a whole. These data are shown in Table 31.

TABLE 31
PROFESSIONAL/COMMUNITY ORIENTATION OF STAY-INS AND DROP-OUTS AMONG NEW CAREERISTS AGED 30-39, ON ITEM 6

Role Orientation	Stay-in	Drop-out	Totals
Professionally Oriented	37	6	43
Community Oriented	8	14	22
Totals	45	20	65

Statistical Tests:
$x^2 = 16.865$
$p < .001$

This reflects other parts of the data, in which this age group has been more extreme than either of the other two data. The explanation for this is hard to determine, but it may be that the younger age group is more interested in the educational component and is less likely to drop out because of this. The 20-29 year-old group may also have fewer commitments and responsibilities--children, families, financial obligations--which mitigate the low-pay and long-hours nature of the New Careers Program. As for the older age group, there may be other explanations. First, most of the older people are women, and the women in this age group are most likely to remain in the program. They seem in general to be people who have families to support, generally alone, who are not especially concerned with advancement or becoming professionals. These people can be seen as seeking a steady job with relatively good pay (especially for women) and good working conditions. These are only speculations as to the reasons for this 30-39 age group being especially atypical, but they seem to reflect the approach of the various age groups to the program.

The other control variable which showed a difference between stay-ins and drop-outs on their role orientation was whether or not the New Careerist had been an aide before. There was no particular difference when the aide had held that position before. But among the individuals who had not been aides before, the drop-outs were considerably more community oriented. These data are shown in Table 32.

TABLE 32
PROFESSIONAL/COMMUNITY ORIENTATION OF STAY-INS AND DROP-OUTS AMONG NEW CAREERISTS WITH NO PRIOR EXPERIENCE AS AIDES, ON ITEM 6

Role Orientation	Stay-in	Drop-out	Totals
Professionally Oriented	52	20	72
Community Oriented	11	20	31
Totals	63	40	103

Statistical Tests:
$x^2 = 12.313$
$p < .001$

As on other variables where this control showed some difference, it is hard to tell just how it is operating. However, the person who seeks a job as an aide is probably more of a professionally oriented person in general than one who does not. Thus, we could expect that those who had had aide experience might be more professionally oriented. It is to be expected, then, that those who had not been aides before would not be as professionally oriented. But why the drop-outs are more extreme in this is hard to say.

Summary

Apparently the drop-outs exhibit several characteristics of professionalism to a greater extent from the outset than do the people who stay in the program.

Out of the six items, the drop-outs were more professionally oriented on four, more community oriented on one, and there was little difference on one. This is a fairly definite trend, especially in view of the comparatively low probability values. They feel more strongly than the stay-ins that semi-professional qualifications are necessary

for a New Careerist; they seem to be more separated, at least mentally, from the low-income community; and they have a self-image which more often includes the idea that they are professional workers than is the case with the stay-ins.

In any case, it is clear that something about very professionally oriented attitudes does not agree well with the New Careers program. It may be that New Careerists become frustrated in their agencies if they are very professionally oriented; it may be that they could get jobs elsewhere which allowed them to become upwardly mobile more rapidly and more easily. On the other hand, it may mean that those people who become drop-outs are people who have aspirations and expectations of the New Careers program which it cannot meet. It is possible that when they come to the gap between the guidelines and theories of the program and the way it actually works out in its day-to-day operation, they cannot accept the difference.

In short, these findings support and underscore the findings of the drop-out report,[15] in which it was suggested that low-income people "treat plans as promises." The findings here also strongly suggest a need for the orientation program that was suggested in that report, in order to allow individuals to select themselves out of the program before they abandon their previous jobs and ways of life.

Further, it can be suggested that there is a need to determine who these professionally oriented people are--especially the extreme cases--and to put them into jobs in which the difference is not as great between the ideals of the program and the way it is actually

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[15] Ibid., p. 4.

carried out. It has been pointed out over and over in these reports that there is a great variety in the types of jobs and agencies available in the program. This is a situation which could be utilized to place people in jobs that would fill their needs. Yet, as is pointed out in the drop-out report,[16] assignments to agencies do not utilize to their full value the diversity of agencies and aides in the program.

These are two suggestions as to how the program might be changed to allow more professionally oriented people to remain in the program longer. The main problem seems to be one of how to make the very big difference between guidelines and reality more palatable to New Careerists.

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[16] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER VI

CHANGES IN ROLE ORIENTATION OVER TIME

One of the most important things to investigate in these data is how the program effects New Careerists in their role orientation. Does it allow them to remain bridge personnel, or does it force them to become professionals as they do more professional kinds of work? Or, on the other hand, does their increasing contact with professionals cause them to feel closer to their own community, in rejection of professional models? These data were analyzed to assess changes, and the results are presented in this chapter.

Statistical Procedures

These data were analyzed through two sets of comparisons. First, the data from the first administration was compared with that of the second (about 6 months difference). And second, the data from the first administration was compared to that of the third administration (about 15 months difference). These comparisons were made by means of a t-test, since the samples are dependent and the data are at the ordinal level. The same significance level is used here as throughout this report.

The control variables are the same as in the previous chapters, and have been collapsed in the same way. Controlling is done in the same manner as before, except that the t-test is used rather than the x^2 test, since changes over time are involved.

Since the findings are quite similar on the two sets of comparisons, only the long-term changes (Time 1 to Time 3) will be presented, unless

the short-term changes (Time 1 to Time 2) are different in direction or can be used to shed additional light on what is happening in the program.

Item 1: In order to be an effective aide, a person must be a semi-professional.

In general, New Careerists have shifted considerably in the direction of community orientation on this item. This is especially significant in light of the fact that 59.6% were already community oriented at the outset. Whether this is a question of a vague meaning being attached to the term "semi-professional," or whether New Careerists actually feel that semi-professional qualifications are unnecessary, is hard to determine.

When the control variables were run on the data, all of those that were significant showed the same trend, as shown in Table 33. In this and all tables in this chapter, the column labelled "t" shows the value of the student's t test computed on these data. The column labelled "p" contains the probability that this "t" could have occurred by chance. In the column labelled direction of change, the type of change in role-orientation will be listed. Only two labels will be used here: more professionally oriented, and more community oriented. There is the assumption that if the aide is more professionally oriented he is less community oriented, and vice-versa.

TABLE 33
CHANGE IN ROLE ORIENTATION FROM SEPTEMBER, 1967, TO DECEMBER, 1968, ON ITEM 1 (In order to an effective aide, a person must be a semi-professional.)

Control Variable	t	p	Direction of Change
None	-3.44	p <.0005	More community oriented
Age 20-29	-1.54	p <.10 >.05	More community oriented
30-39	-1.56	p <.10 >.05	More community oriented
40+	-13.72	p <.0005	More community oriented
Teacher Aide	———	NOT SIGNIFICANT	———
Social Work Aide	-7.60	p <.0005	More community oriented
Aide before	-1.95	p <.05 >.025	More community oriented
Not aide before	-5.33	p <.005	More community oriented
Previous occupation:			
1-4	———	NOT SIGNIFICANT	———
5	-3.79	p <.0005	More community oriented
6-7	-1.36	p <.10 >.05	More community oriented
Participation in an anti-poverty program	-3.74	p <.0005	More community oriented
No participation in an anti-poverty program	-5.56	p <.0005	More community oriented
Previous education:			
0-12 Yrs.	-4.26	p <.0005	More community oriented
13+ Yrs.	———	NOT SIGNIFICANT	———

It is clear from the table that New Careerists have become more community oriented on this variable regardless of the control variables applied. Apparently, then, this change is pervasive and is involved in the New Careers experience itself, and not in other, peripheral types of qualifications such as age or type of work. The feeling that semi-professional attitudes and abilities are not necessary for effective participation in the program has become stronger.

Two anomalous findings showed up, however, when these data were

compared with the Time 1 versus Time 2 comparisons. First, for aides between the ages of 20 and 29, this item showed a change toward professional orientation. The time lapse was from September, 1967 to March, 1968. This change had a t of -1.54, with a corresponding $p < .10 > .05$. During the same time period, aides with previous occupations in the lowest status category also experienced a change toward greater professional orientation. This change had a t of -1.36, with a corresponding $p < .10 > .05$.

Apparently these two groups--people between 20 and 29 and those with low previous occupational status--experienced the most radical change toward community orientation between March, 1968 and December, 1968, of all the various control groups. In some way this is probably a product of how these people define their roles and positions in the New Careers program. Exactly what the relationship is, however, is hard to say at this time.

In sum, it can be said that on Item 1--pertaining to semi-professional abilities--there was an across-the-board change toward more community oriented attitudes. And this change took place on an item that already showed heavily community oriented response.

Item 2: Aides are really the most concerned people in their neighborhoods.

On this item, which really attempts to tap how the aides see their relationship with their own community, New Careerists have become more professionally oriented, as a group. This represents an important change, since they were largely (65%) community oriented at the beginning of the program. However, some subgroups did not change in this direction, as examination of Table 34 will show.

TABLE 34
CHANGE IN ROLE ORIENTATION FROM SEPTEMBER, 1967, TO DECEMBER, 1968, ON ITEM 2 (Aides are really the most concerned people in their neighborhoods.)

Control Variable	t	p	Direction of Change
None	9.18	$p < .0005$	Toward professional orientation
Age 20-29 Yrs.	-3.78	$p < .0005$	Toward community orientation
30-39 Yrs.	6.20	$p < .0005$	Toward professional orientation
40+ Yrs.	8.16	$p < .0005$	Toward professional orientation
Teacher aide	14.83		Toward professional orientation
Social work aide	NOT SIGNIFICANT		
Aide before	4.87	$p < .0005$	Toward professional orientation
Not aide before	NOT SIGNIFICANT		
Previous occupation:			
1-4	3.80	$p < .0005$	Toward professional orientation
5	-2.74	$p < .005 > .005$	Toward community orientation
6-7	7.51	$p < .0005$	Toward professional orientation
Participation in an anti-poverty program	2.34	$p < .025 > .01$	Toward professional orientation
No participation in anti-poverty program	5.87	$p < .0005$	Toward professional orientation
Previous education:			
0-12 Yrs.	5.26	$p < .0005$	Toward professional orientation
13+ Yrs.	3.40	$p < .005 > .0005$	Toward professional orientation

In particular, aides between 20 and 29 years of age became more community oriented, in contrast to the rest of the group. This change was just as significant, although in the opposite direction, as the change among aides over 30. This may be a product of the differences in agency placements among these aides, in their different relationships to their own community, of their different commitments to militant or community-oriented philosophies, or of any number of other factors. At any rate, it appears that younger aides tend to become more committed to their

communities as they are in the program longer. This leads to the suggestion that they be assigned (other individualistic needs taken into account) to agencies which allow the aide to work directly in the low-income community in which he lives.

At the same time, aides between 30 and 39 years of age who were tested after six months' experience in the program showed the same change toward professional orientation as the rest of the group after fifteen months. This leads to the tentative conclusion that the change to professional orientation works down, from the older aides to the younger, and that with even longer experience even the youngest group of aides would change to professional orientation, on this item.

The other group which showed significant changes toward community orientation (at the same time the rest of the group changed in the opposite direction) was aides whose previous occupation had been in the middle-to-low range. This seems to have the same implications for placement as among the younger aides.

In sum, on this item--which basically reflects New Careerists' relationship to their own community--they have become more professionally oriented during their participation in the program, and can be said to be drawing away from their community of origin.

Item 3: Aides are usually different from most poverty residents.

This, again, is a question which attempts to discover the relationship between the New Careerist and his community as he sees it. As was shown in Chapter III, aides were heavily (78%) community oriented at the beginning of the program. Over the fifteen month period they have been New Careerists, they have changed very little on this item, except

for a few control groups. As a whole, their mean scores are so close together that the test shows nothing. The control groups which showed significant changes over this 15-month period are shown in Table 35. These are labelled "T_1 - T_3" in the extra column at the left. Since they give so little information, however, the findings from the testing session at which New Careerists had been aides only 6 months are presented. These are labelled "T_1 - T_2" in the column on the left. When an entry is labelled T_1-T_2, the reader can assume that the longer-term finding was not significant.

TABLE 35
CHANGE IN ROLE ORIENTATION FROM SEPTEMBER, 1967, TO MARCH, 1968, AND DECEMBER, 1968, ON ITEM 3 (Aides are usually different from most poverty residents.)

Time	Control Variable	t	p	Direction of Change
T_1-T_2	None	-2.16	$p < .01 > .05$	More community oriente
T_1-T_2	Age 20-29	-7.55	$p < .0005$	More community oriente
T_1-T_2	30-39	-5.01	$p < .0005$	More community oriente
T_1-T_2	40+	2.55	$p < .01 > .005$	More professionally oriented
T_1-T_2 & T_1-T_3	Teacher Aide	NOT SIGNIFICANT		
T_1-T_3	Social work aide	5.88	$p < .0005$	More professionally oriented
T_1-T_2 & T_1-T_3	Aide before	NOT SIGNIFICANT		
T_1-T_3	Not aide before	-3.49	$p < .0005$	More community oriente
	Previous Occupation:			
T_1-T_2	1-4	-5.84	$p < .0005$	More community oriente
T_1-T_2 & T_1-T_3	5	NOT SIGNIFICANT		
T_1-T_2	6-7	2.12	$p < .025 > .01$	More professionally oriented
T_1-T_3	Participation in an anti-poverty program	2.62	$p < .01 > .005$	More professionally oriented
T_1-T_2 & T_1-T_3	No participation in an anti-poverty program	NOT SIGNIFICANT		
	Previous Education:			
T_1-T_2	0-12 Yrs.	-2.68	$p < .005 > .0005$	More community orient
T_1-T_2 & T_1-T_3	13+ Yrs.	NOT SIGNIFICANT		

By the time the aides had been in the program fifteen months, then, only four subgroups among them showed any significant changes. Those aged 20-29 were more professionally oriented after 15 months; but after 6 months, they were more community oriented. This reflects the same instability or changeability among the younger aides that was evident in Item 2.

Second, social work aides had also become more professionally oriented after 15 months in the program. This may reflect the kind of work they do, more than any other factor. It can be suggested that as it is necessary for them to put themselves on the other end of the helping process--the giving end rather than the receiving end--they must also take on more professional kinds of attitudes toward other people in the low-income community. If this is the explanation, then it appears that the concept of the bridging function is not being fulfilled on these jobs, but that the nature of the work forces the aides to act and think as professionals.

Third, New Careerists who had no prior experience as aides became more community oriented over the fifteen month period. This may be a result of the fact, already discussed, that those who have not sought positions as aides are less likely to be professionally oriented people in general. They may also be more tied to their communities by such things as financial and familial responsibilities.

The same sort of consideration may apply to people who have participated in one of the anti-poverty programs, who also have become more professionally oriented over time. It should be kept in mind, however, that the definition of what constitutes an anti-poverty program is vague, and may not have been clearly understood by the responsents.

In dealing with the changes that are significant only over the first six months of the program, at least one caution is in order. Although in most cases the changes continue in the same direction, there are exceptions to this rule. It should not be assumed automatically that changes in the first six months are permanent either in direction or in quality and that they are presented here only as a way of describing the New Careers experience during the first six months of the program. As a group, aides became more community oriented over this time period. This means that they felt themselves to be <u>like</u> the people in their own communities and had not pulled away from their identities there. This change, however, had been nullified at the end of 15 months.

Another change over the six month period was among New Careerists between 30 and 39 years of age. This group changed toward greater community orientation during this time. However, the over-40 age group changed in the opposite direction, becoming more professionally oriented. This may be partly a result of the objectives of the people in this older group, as well as of their life style, which have already been discussed.

Two of the groupings of previous occupation showed the same tendency to take opposite directions over the first six months, but showed no change over the longer period. Aides who had previously been in the highest status occupations changed toward community orientation; those who had been in occupations with the lowest status occupations changed toward professional orientation. It can be suggested that this is probably a leveling-out process, especially in view of the fact that the miggle-range occupational groupings showed no change and that there was

no change over the longer period of time in any of the occupational groupings. Apparently what has happened is that people in higher occupational statuses take on the more community-oriented parts of the New Careers ideology, while retaining the professional orientation they can be expected to have at the outset. The opposite process could be anticipated from people with low-status incomes.

Finally, those with 0-12 years of education became more community oriented over the six month period, but in the long run neither they nor their counterparts experienced any significant change. What the explanation for this change is is difficult to say, and it appears that ti may bound up with other variables which have not been explored.

In sum, the findings on this item basically indicate that the aide's feeling of being <u>like</u> his fellow poverty residents goes through some changes early in his involvement with New Careers, but whatever the changes are, they are nullified over the long run. Exceptions to this general rule are among aides between 20 and 29 years old, social work aides, and aides who have participated in anti-poverty programs, all of whom become more professionally oriented over time. The only other exception is among New Careerists who have not had prior experience as aides, who become more community oriented.

<u>Item 4: Those people who become aides have more understanding of poverty than professionals.</u>

This item switches the focus of attention from the New Careerist's view of his relationship to the poverty community to his relationship to the authority and competence of professionals. As Table 36 shows, every subgroup, as well as the group as a whole, became more community

TABLE 36
CHANGE IN ROLE ORIENTATION FROM SEPTEMBER, 1967, TO DECEMBER, 1968, ON ITEM 4 (Those people who become aides have more understanding of poverty than professionals.)

Control Variable	t	p	Direction of Change
None	12.58	$p < .0005$	Toward community orientation
Age: 20-29	6.22	$p < .0005$	Toward community orientation
30-39	9.04	$p < .0005$	Toward community orientation
40+	5.94	$p < .0005$	Toward community orientation
Teacher aide	11.39	$p < .0005$	Toward community orientation
Social work aide	5.91	$p < .0005$	Toward community orientation
Aide before	11.26	$p < .0005$	Toward community orientation
Not aide before	5.55	$p < .0005$	Toward community orientation
Previous occupation:			
1-4	22.75	$p < .0005$	Toward community orientation
5	7.74	$p < .0005$	Toward community orientation
6-7	3.78	$p < .0005$	Toward community orientation
Participation in an anti-poverty program	8.06	$p < .0005$	Toward community orientation
No participation in an anti-poverty program	8.05	$p < .0005$	Toward community orientation
Previous education:			
0-12 Yrs.	11.61	$p < .0005$	Toward community orientation
13+ Yrs.	4.95	$p < .0005$	Toward community orientation

oriented on this item over the fifteen month period. In every case, this was a continuation of the trend set in the sixth month period. It is interesting in light of the fact that as a group New Careerists were almost evenly split on their role-orientation at the outset of the program. This is perhaps the most distinctive shift in role-orientation in these data, and it is especially striking since this is the only item that did not show any real direction at the outset.

It is also sigsificant because it indicates that even though New

Careerists have had fifteen months of experience working with (and thereby observing) professionals, they feel less confident of the professional's qualifications to deal with the problems of poverty. This indicates that, at least according to this item, New Careerists are rejecting professional definitions of situations and may to that extent be performing the bridge function. This finding does, however, contradict the one in Item 2, which tended to suggest that New Careerists are rejecting their affiliations with their own community. It is hard to say what the balance between is--they seem to be contradictory, but what findings there are indicate direction more than degree.

At any rate, on this item New Careerists have changed toward community orientation, regardless of which controls are used to form subgroups among them.

Item 5: I consider myself a professional worker.

The data on this item has the same problems of presentation and interpretation as were found on Item 3. Only one subgroup showed any significant change over the fifteen moneh period--social work aides changed toward greater professional orientation. These data are shown in Table 37, below. This table is set up in exactly the same way as Table 35, with the time period in question noted in the column furthest to the left.

After 6 months in the program, six groups showed a change toward professional orientation on this item. This is to be expected if, in fact, any substantial number of aides are doing professional kinds of work. These six groups included: the total group taken together, aides

TABLE 37
CHANGES IN ROLE ORIENTATION FROM SEPTEMBER, 1967, TO MARCH, 1968, AND DECEMBER, 1968, ON ITEM 5 (I consider myself a professional worker.)

Time	Control Variable	t	p	Direction of Change
T_1-T_2	None	9.67	$p < .0005$	More professionally oriented
T_1-T_2 & T_1-T_3	Age 20-29	NOT SIGNIFICANT		
T_1-T_2	30-39	5.55	$p < .0005$	More professionally oriented
T_1-T_2 & T_1-T_3	40+	NOT SIGNIFICANT		
T_1-T_2 & T_1-T_3	Teacher aide	NOT SIGNIFICANT		
T_1-T_3	Social work aide	4.41	$p < .0005$	More professionally oriented
	Previous Occupation:			
T_1-T_2 & T_1-T_3	1-4	NOT SIGNIFICANT		
T_1-T_2 & T_1-T_3	5	NOT SIGNIFICANT		
T_1-T_2	6-7	5.49	$p < .0005$	More professionally oriented
T_1-T_2 & T_1-T_3	Participation in an anti-poverty program	NOT SIGNIFICANT		
T_1-T_2	No participation in an anti-poverty program	6.61	$p < .0005$	More professionally oriented
	Previous education			
T_1-T_2	0-12 Yrs.	18.28	$p < .0005$	More professionally oriented
T_1-T_2	13+ Yrs.	-5.96	$p < .0005$	More community oriented

between the ages of 30 and 39, New Careerists who had not been aides before, those who had low-status previous occupations, those who had not previous participated in an anti-poverty program, and those with 0- years of education.

Only one group, those with 13 or more years of education, showed a change toward community orientation. It should be pointed out again, as it was for Item 3, that these changes were eliminated in the next few months, so that at 15 months, the tests showed no change. They must be taken, at least at this time, as adjustment processes in response to the new experience of New Careers, and not as trends that can be expected

to be continued.

In sum, the findings on this item are at best inconclusive, and only show that aides are not likely to change their concepts of themselves as professional workers--regardless of which direction that concept takes--over the long run. The only exception to this is among the social work aides, whose attitudes become more professionally oriented over time.

Item 6: I would not like to be a supervisor.

On this item, the basic trend over the 15 month period is a change toward greater community orientation, although a few groups differ from this trend. These data are shown in Table 38.

TABLE 38
CHANGE IN ROLE ORIENTATION FROM SEPTEMBER, 1967, TO DECEMBER, 1968, ON ITEM 6 (I would not like to be a supervisor.)

Control Variable	t	p	Direction of Change
None	2.12	$p < .025 > .01$	More community oriented
Age 20-29	NOT SIGNIFICANT		
30-39	1.41	$p < .10 > .05$	More community oriented
40+	1.30	$p < .10 > .05$	More community oriented
Teacher aide	-1.54	$p < .10 > .05$	More professionally orient
Social work aide	6.86	$p < .0005$	More community oriented
Aide before	3.66	$p < .0005$	More community oriented
Not aide before	NOT SIGNIFICANT		
Previous Occupation:			
1-4	NOT SIGNIFICANT		
5	3.33	$p < .005 > .0005$	More community oriented
6-7	-4.06	$p < .0005$	More professionally orient
Participation in anti-poverty program	NOT SIGNIFICANT		
No participation in anti-poverty program	3.37	$p < .0005$	More community oriented
Previous education			
0-12 Yrs.	NOT SIGNIFICANT		
13+ Yrs.	7.77	$p < .0005$	More community oriented

At the outset, 64% of the aides answer in the direction of professional orientation the general change, toward community orientation may be an actual distaste for the jobs supervisors do and have to do; however, it may also be a product of a clearer definitional process on the part of New Careerists as to what being a supervisor means. As was pointed out earlier, it can be assumed that many incoming New Careerists had a vague or inaccurate picture of what a supervisor does. Consequently, this item should not be overemphasized in the findings.

Over the fifteen month period, five subgroups showed no significant change, seven changed toward community orientation, and two toward professional orientation. These last two groups bear some discussion. First, the teacher aides changed toward more willingness to become a supervisor--more professional orientation. This is likely because for most of them their supervisor is a teacher, and the position of teacher is one they aspire to. The teacher is not a supervisory person in the strictect sense--but she does have authority in the classroom and she is, after all, the supervisor of the individual New Careerist. In aspiring to be a "supervisor," then teacher aides may only be expressing a wish to become a teacher. This is only speculation, however; it may be that there are other factors in operation in the situation of the teacher aides which lead them to this willingness to take on supervisory responsibilities.

The other group who expressed the same feeling was those aides who had the lowest occupational status before they entered the program. Just what may actually be at the root of this change is hard to assess, especially since it is such a long-standing one. It may be a quest on

these people's part for some kind of manageable increase in status--a step up to supervisory positions without the added educational or experience requirements needed to become a professional. However, if this is the case, it si certainly a change which endures over time and may call for further attention.

However, it should be mentioned here that this group moved in the opposite direction during the short-run period, and then reversed itself in the remainder of the 15 month period. It may be that New Careers has acted to raise these people's aspiration or self-confidence, or created more realistic definitions of what a supervisor is, after the initial adjustment has taken place.

The same kind of reversal, though in the opposite direction, took place among the social work aides. They were changed toward more professional orientation over the shorter period, but at the end of the 15 month period had become more community oriented.

In sum, with only two exceptions, New Careerists either experienced no change in their role-orientation on this item, or they became more community oriented. This indicates a basic lack of interest in supervisory positions, but may not indicate a rejection of professional models, since the two types of work are not necessarily synonymous.

Summary

In sum, New Careerists have become more community oriented on four items, more professionally oriented on one item, and have experienced no change in one item. In short, the basic trend has been toward increasing community orientation--with variations among subgroups--over time. It should be noted, however, that the professionally oriented and

no-change response come on the two items that attempt to force the New Careerist to set himself off mentally from the community and to evaluate his relationship to the community. The more community oriented responses come when aides are asked questions that attempt to get them to place themselves vis a vis the professional. In other words, either the questions are not tapping the aide-community relationship, or it is not a satisfactory one. Either of these possibilities could be true.

At any rate, it is probably safe to suggest--but not in the form of any concrete recommendations, since there are so many difficulties of interpretation, that New Careerists are performing the bridge function and handling the problem of "contamination" quite well. They seem, generally speaking, to be rejecting specifically professional positions and authority. On the other end of the bridge--the aide-poverty community relationship--there may not be such a good balance. It appears from these data that the program has somehow failed to retain or facilitate New Careerists' relationships with their own neighborhoods. This may be a product of the very time limitations the program places on the aides, removing many of them from their neighborhoods of origin for a good part of the day. Or it may be the perennial dilemma of the marginal man. This problem is covered at considerable length, along with a more extended discussion of the process of becoming a professional, in another New Careers Research report.[17]

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[17] Thompson, op. cit.